#### SPIRIT OF THE PRESS.

EDITORIAL OPINIONS OF THE LEADING JOURNALS UPON CURBERT TOPICS—COMPILED EVERY DAY FOR THE EVENING TELEGRAPH.

THE MANUFACTURE OF "ISSUES."

If there be anything which the political exerience of the United States has taught early, it is that political parties are produced by the spread amongst large bodies of the people of certain ideas capable of being clothed in legdation; that the spread of ideas capable of furmishing vitality to a party is generally slow, and the result of great labor and a combination of favoring circumstances; and that, once they have spread sufficiently, the party comes into existence of itself, just as naturally as the corn sprouts after the seed is sown; and that, after the party is formed, it is impossible to use it in the service of any idea except the one which created it; and that, when this idea has triumphed, the party dissolves into its primitive elements and another springs up to take its place. One would natu-rally suppose that all this was perfectly miliar to every student of political history, nd particularly of the political history of this untry, and yet it sometimes seems as if

on old politicians were quite unconscious of There is hardly one of them who is not, some time or other in his career, seized ith a crazy notion that he can make a party mself with a little help from a few friends. he can only get hold of a good popular issue" and get it adopted by some caucus of s moulding. Every party which has existed this country, and made even a respectable low at the polls-Federal, Democratic, Whig, now Nothing, and Republican—has been ased on a powerful idea, which had grown gradually in the popular brain, under ssure of external circumstances, or had en bequeathed to it by former generaons; but it would have been as impossible to y where or when it originated as to say hence comes the wind or whither it goes. The rise and progress of ideas is, in short, ne of the historian's greatest puzzles, and ill always remain so. But among the curious pisodes in the history of all these parties we been the attempts of knots of politicians ither to engraft something of their own inention on the party policy, or else to prolong he existence of the party after it had done its ork by some bitters or other stimulant of heir own concoction, or else to tempt it to orn aside from its appointed path by stories f hidden treasure in distant mountains. The sual result of these attempts has either been diculous failure from the outset-like lessrs, Johnson and Seward's Philadelphia Convention in 1865—or the production of a comical little puppet like the Bell and Everett movement of 1860, or the Butler repudiation

novement in 1867.

It seems not at all unlikely that we shall witness something of the same kind during the coming fall. It is casting no extraordihary discredit on the Republican party to say that eyer since 1865 it has been losing its hold on the popular affection. It had a very diffiult work to do in reconstruction, and one for which the experience of the war had hardly fitted its leaders, and which, from its very nature, was sure to damage the reputation of any party which undertook it. It was enabled to carry it out successfully solely owing to Andrew Johnson's folly and the South's obstinacy and stupidity. How deeply the leaders perplexed, mystified, and unsettled. felt the importance of Johnson's folly to the party was well shown by the frantic efforts nade by them and by the party papers to magnify his "crimes" and the gravity of the mpeachment trial. In addition to this, the party has had the spending for eight years of normous sums of money, and has been orced to collect and disburse it without any dequate administrative machinery. The conequence, and the inevitable consequence, been not only that the party has ad to shoulder the responsibility of great buses, but has had to witness the accession o its ranks of a prodigious number of knaves and adventurers, and to bear the burden of heir "lovalty" and "soundness" while en tirely unable to put a stop to their plundering and peculating. Some allowance, too, in in vestigating the causes of the decline of the party in popular estimation must, of course, e made for the weariness of any party which has been long in power which inevitably comes over the public before many years. Many people forget the misdeeds of the opposition, are constantly fretted by the faults of the administration, and gradually work themselves first into a belief that any change would be for the better, and then into a determina-

The party was, therefore, in a somewhat sorry plight at the approach of the Presiden-tial election; and if it had made up its mind to discard Grant, and Democrats had made up their minds to take Chase, there is, we believe, little doubt in the minds of careful observers that it would have gone to pieces. Here the folly of the opposition, combined with the energetic action of the sensible men at the Chicago Convention, postponed the evil day. As it was, Grant may be said to have achieved a respectable victory only by the peculiarities of the elective machinery. Had he been dependent on a direct popular vote, he would have barely escaped defeat. The history of his administration thus far has certainly not been of a character to give the party a new hold on the popular confidence. Indeed, its warmest friends have been forced almost from the first to act on the defensiveto devote themselves, in fact, mainly to the work of proving, not that it has established new claims to popular gratitude, but that it has done nothing to earn popular distrust. It is not at all surprising, therefore, that

the back politicians, whose presence in its ranks and use of its machinery for their own ends have brought so much discredit on it, should once more begin to feel anxious, and east about for some means of rekindling the pular enthusiasm on its behalf or procuring a renewal of its lease of power. wonderful is that they-not being by any means, in the ordinary sense of the word, tools—should fancy that they can, by holding a meeting and raising a banner, get people to follow them wherever they choose to lead: and what is most wonderful of all is that it is Pennsylvania politicians who should put themlves in the forefront of the new movement. We suppose there is no body of persons so profoundly distrusted by all that is best in the Republican party, or who would find it more cult to get people to adopt any policy which was likely to give them more money to spend or places to fill.

THE MARKET PRICE OF NATIONAL SYMPATHY.

From the N. Y. Times.

The London papers still strenuously insist that "British sympathy with the South" shall not be paid for in cash; and, upon the whole, there is nothing unnatural in this protest Certainly we have no right to insist on a rule to govern others to which we do not ourselves submit: and probably no American would

like to be tongue-tied, lest his "sympathy" for some unsuccessful struggle on the other side of the globe should be reckoned up in dollars, and taken out of the treasury at Washington by the aggrieved party. It was a distinguished apostle of freedom of speech who first discovered that, when a whole nation indulges in that luxury, it must be paid for on the counter. Mr. Sumner imported into his plea for Alabama reparation many such statistics (if we may so tabulate them) as

Item,-Three (3) cheers from a British passengership.

Trem.—Two (2) speeches of Mr. Laird—

and so on; which means, if Tom, Dick, and Harry "cheer" an insurgent cause, or publicly wish it success, this is to "go in evidence" against their Government, for the

recovery of damages for "prolonging a war."

Presented thus, and stripped of rhetorical ornament, this argument might be disowned by its originators. They would probably say that these "items," for example, are only clustered as tokens of an unfriendly animus to the Union on the part of Englishmen. How does that help the case? Some English papers, like the News and Star, some English statesmen like Bright and Forster, insist that the great controlling body of national sympathy in England was always with the North. But let us suppose that it was not—is that a ground for 'bringing in a bill' against England? Of course it is nothing of the kind. Why then, in a controversy of the present kind, do we drag it in?

Mr. Sumner's partisans would reply, pro-bably, that these historic events were not only "indications of an unfriendly animus," but explained certain overt acts. But that is like substituting secondary evidence for primary. If there were "overt acts" of hostility done or permitted by Great Britain against us, these are in themselves sufficient for our case. They cannot be illustrated or strengthened by anything less weighty; and, on the other hand, if overt acts do not exist, they cannot be pieced out and constructively supplied from indications of national sentiment. The Sumner school presents three grounds of complaint against England. One, the Queen's procla-mation, another, the ravages of the Alabama and other English-built cruisers, and a third, the "misdirected sympathies" of Great Britain. And the last occupies more space in the recital than either of the others, though it has no business at all in a money claimabout such a matter we may go to war, but

We shall be asked, however, why, since at best this is but collateral matter, it may not profitably be arranged and added to the offial legal case? For two reasons. In the first place, it weakens it. It is the error of an attorney who crowds all sorts of irrelevant matter into his pleadings, and is forever delayed from getting a settlement by the objections of the other side. And this is the mistake we have always made thus far-without which, perhaps, the Alabama claims might have been paid, and the various shipowners and underwriters be to-day walking about with the "British gold" in their pockets. Englishmen know very well that, when the case is once put by America on its proper grounds, divested of all ridiculous accompaniments, these claims must be paid. But, meanwhile, they are justified in taking advantage of our weak arguments and prepos-terous demands, in order to avoid and ignore what they cannot meet, except by confession and payment. Thus the whole matter is kept

In the next place, Mr. Sumner's reasoning is vicious, because we, as Americans, have always claimed the privilege of expressing individual opinion (we say nothing of govern-mental action) regarding all sorts of wars and rebellions. Pray, on the other principle, what damage is due from us to Russia for sympathy in Polish rebellions, to Turkey for sympathy in Cretan, to Austria for sympathy in Hungarian, to France for sympathy in Republican, to Spain for sympathy in Cuban, to England for sympathy in Fenian? A "nice little "bill" we should run up to all these and all other countries, on Mr. Sumner's principle, and we might as well go into bankruptcy at once. The Sumner school will tell us that England's sympathy 'prolonged our war by encouraging the insurgents," and hence the war expenses must be partly paid for by her. Precisely the rule that applies to our sympathy and that of all other nations with any insurgent cause. Take the case of Cuba, which is right before us, as it were. The insurrection would probably have died out long ago but for American sympathy, and hope of American aid. Should it ever die out, is Spain to bring in a "bill for sympathy" against us? And have we no right to speak well of the Cuban cause, or "cheer" it, if we tion to have a change of some kind at any

> It is worth while considering into what predicaments this doctrine may lead us; for it is a rule that "works both ways," and most of the time it works against us. We, certainly, have never scrupled to "encourage" by our sympathy whichever of two contending parties we happened to fancy, and have never thought of having our sympathy reckoned up against us at the market price by the other party. In the case of England, especially, it is doubtful whether she has been engaged in any war for nigh upon a hundred years, in which we have not publicly expressed our hopes that she would get soundly whipped. Our Fourth-of-July orators for years have talked this way, and many of our public men have done the same. We have always given our national sympathy in a much more undivided way than England did in our case to every insurrection-Canadian, Fenian, or Indian, against English control—and proba-bly we always shall. But, as we have already said, it has been reserved, by one of those satires on human wisdom and candor which history constantly furnishes, for a special advocate of liberty in opinion to deny that liberty to any nation but our own, under penalty of mulcting in damages.

### BEGINNING AGAIN.

From the N. Y. Tribune. Napoleon begins another chapter of empire with a mistake- an inevitable one, however, the premises of empire being granted. He demes that it is proper to the imperial self-respect to conciliate his opponents, and straightway he imprisons the editor of the radical Rappel. The next move in order should be the arrest and second expulsion of Count Henri de Rochefort, the radical editor of La-Lanterne, and said to be a descendant of Hugh Capet-not the only son of the old noblesse who takes sides against monarchy. Moreover, the Emperor may so connive through his salaried agents that the frauds of the late elections, albeit the radicals in the Legislature may venture to contest them, shall arbitrarily accrue to the empire. All disputed elections he will still have the chance of managing his own way. To the profound disgust of the Liberals of France, he is wilfully bent upon arrogating rather than conceding, and, so far as we can make out from the cable's despatch, has taken the course which will emphasize the meaning of the late radical vote, and not win a single convert to the throne. Taking it at its word, the empire at present only means

offense. The Emperor will wait, it appears, to feel the pulse of France through its Legislative Corps, after having endeavored to make it temperately keep time with his own. What he has just done seems to repel the liberal advice both of Prince Napoleon and Persigny, but a hope remains that his arrogance is but a prologue to concession of some

kind. On the other hand, the empire will not encounter mutes or imbeciles in the spirits which it has evoked from the depths of French opposition. It has been a problem with Naoleon to find out the temper and desire of the uncertain and suspicious millions below him. The facts are now before him, yet do not deter him from a well-bred af-fectation of apathy to that sometime smothered passion for freedom, which, how-ever devastating and almost self-destroying when hitherto fully ablaze, is yet an inex-tinguishable fire in the heart of France. Her patriots, however, are not disposed to be for-ever passive—least of all are they inclined to yield to any attack on the citadel of universal suffrage. Many of them may be as much opposed as Jules Favre to violence as a means of posed as Jules Favre to violence as a means of reform and progress, but perhaps the mass of them would agree with him in the doctrine that "if rights are to be attacked by violence violence should be encountered." Upon the right of universal suffrage, practised in one way or other, since 1848, the liberalism of France will take its well-fortified stand. It will not be possible for the France will take its well-fortified stand. not be possible for the Emperor to invade that right with safety. He can only yield to it with

THE WAR IN PARAGUAY-THE POSI-TION OF THE UNITED STATES.

From the N. Y. Herald.

The greatest efforts have been made by Brazil and her allies to excite the United States Government against Paraguay. Even some of our own citizens, and those among them who have held official positions in South America, have been the active agents of the Brazilians in misrepresenting the state of things existing in Paraguay and in endeavoring to foment difficulties between this country and Paraguay. We were told that our Minister, Mr. McMahon, was virtually a prisoner in the hands of Lopez. Intimations were thrown out that even something worse than that might have happened thing worse than that might have happened to him, and that the allies pointed to the fact that nothing officially had been heard from him since last December. We all along suspected the treachery and misrepresentations of the Brazilian and allied agents and press, and now it appears from the news published recently from Paraguay that Mr. McMahon is recently from Paraguay that Mr. McMahon is safe, that nothing has happened to him, and that, in fact, he is near Lopez, the President of Paraguay; and we have no doubt he is on the best terms with and is kindly treated by Lopez. It is clear that Brazil and her allies were the sole cause of our Minister's isolation. and in all probability they stopped the official despatches between the Minister and his Government for the purpose of withholding the truth and deceiving the United States as to the actual state of the war. From news received by the way of Washington, it will be seen that the allies would not allow any communication with Mr. McMahon. Mr. Worthington, our Minister to Uruguay, writes that he had demanded of the Argentine Government either an escort through the allied lines or for permission for a United States escort to pass through them to enable communication to be made with Mr. McMahon, and that both the Buenos Ayres and Brazilian Governments had refused. Of course the pretext of this refusal was that the movements of the allies would be affected by granting such communication. Commander Kirkland, of the Wasp, had a sharp correspondence with Brazil and Buenos Ayres on the subject. Thus, then, it is evident the allies are afraid of the truth being known as to the actual state of the war. It is equally evident that the official representatives of the United States, and, therefore, the Government itself, are treated in the most high-handed and outrageous manner by Brazil and her allies. This only shows what a miserable and imbecile Government we have. Every little State, especially if it be a monarchy-for our State Department has a particular tenderness for monarchies and monarchical institutionsmay insult this country with impunity. Our weak Government will bear any amount of kicking from nations, small or great, which have active representatives in Washington, but it will not raise its finger in favor of republicanism in America, of the struggling Cuban patriots, or of anything else that is liberal and grandly national in policy. The great republic has sunk low in the character of its actual government, and there seems to be no hope of raising it up during the term of the present administration.

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